

EDITORIAL

This fourth issue of Bongo-Man marks a further step to grapple with the reality of our oppression within the houseslave institution of the University and the rapid development of American Imperialism rooted in the Bauxite Industry since the early fifties. This latter development has very significant consequences for the BLACK STRUGGLE in the West Indies as it forces us to recognise that the greatest threat to our freedom comes from the forces now operating in defence of American hegemony in the West. It also points to the fact that we can't act in isolation but must recognize and act in concert with our allies in the ANTI-NEO-COLONIAL war against Imperialism. The article dealing with the "Anti-Imperialist Fight in Jamaica," goes into some discussion of Neo-colonialism which is vital to our understanding of exactly how the forces of exploitation operate in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Also included in this issue is a statement by Marcus Garvey Jr. on the AFRICAN NATIONALIST UNION and its recent organizational origins. The ANU has publicly declared itself an advocate of Black Power. In their pamphlet, 'The Blackman' released on the anniversary of Marcus Garvey's birthday last August the ANU declared its intention: "To preach and promulgate the philosophy of Black Power as that Philosophy is outlined by its originator Marcus Garvey." This article is interesting in that it marks a modification of this statement to include an 'African Socialist' perspective.

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BLACK POWER :

A SECOND LECTURE

BY

WALTER RODNEY

The publication of Walter Rodney's ^{the} second lecture on Black Power completes the series we started in ^{the} first issue of Bongo-Man. In that issue we published the paper "African History in the Service of Black Revolution", which he delivered at the Black Writers Conference in Montreal last October.

In the second issue we published two pieces, the first lecture given at the Students Union, UWI, -Why Black Power in the West Indies?-and a 'Message to Afro-Jamaica Associations.'

The very important statement he made after being informed of the Jamaica Government's ban was published in 'Truth' magazine.

Black Power is a doctrine about black people, for black people, preached by black people. I'm putting it to my black brothers and sisters that the colour of our skin is the most fundamental thing about us. I could have chosen to talk about people of the same island, or the same religion, or the same class-but instead I have chosen skin colour as essentially the most binding factor in our world. In so doing, I am not saying that is the ^{ought to be} way things / . Under different circumstances, it would have been wise to be colour blind, to choose my friends solely because their social interests coincided with mine, but no conscious black man can allow himself such luxuries in

the contemporary world.

Let me emphasize that the situation is not of our making. To begin with, the white world defines who is white and who is black. In the USA if one is not white, then one is black. In Britain, if one is not white then one is coloured. In South Africa, one can be white, coloured or black depending upon how white people classify you. There was a South African boxer who was white all his life, until the other whites decided that he was really coloured. Even the fact of whether you are black or not is to be decided by white people by White Power. If a Jamaican black man tried to get a room from a landlady in London, who said "no coloureds", it would not impress her, if he said he

was a West Indian, quite apart from the fact that she would already have closed the door in his black face. When a Pakistani goes to the Midlands he is as coloured as a Nigerian. The Indonesian is the same as a Surinamer in Holland, the Chinese and New Guineans have as little chance of becoming residents and citizens in Australia as do you and I. The definition which is most widely used the world over is that once you are not obviously white then you are black, and are excluded from power. Power is kept pure milky white.

The black people of whom I speak, therefore, are non-whites—the hundreds of millions of people whose homelands are in Asia and Africa with another few millions in all the Americas. A further sub-division can be made with reference to all people of African descent whose position is clearly more acute than that of most non-white groups. It must be noted that once a person is said to be black by the white world, then that is usually the most important thing about him. Fat or thin, intelligent or stupid, criminal or sportsman—these things pale into insignificance. Actually I've found out that a lot of whites literally cannot tell one black from another. Partly this may be due to the fact that they do not personally know many black people, but reflects a psychological tendency

to deny our individuality by refusing to consider us as individual human beings.

POWER RELATIONS IN BLACK & WHITE

Having said a few things about black and white, I will try to point out the power relations between them. By the outbreak of the first world war in 1914, the capitalist division of the world was complete. It was a division which made capitalists dominant over workers and white people dominant over black. At that point, everywhere in the world, white people held power in all its aspects—political, economic, military and cultural. In Europe, the whites held power—this goes without saying. In the Americas, the whites had committed mass murder as far as many "Red Indian" groups were concerned and they herded the rest into reservations like animals or forced them into disadvantageous positions geographically and economically in Central and South America. In Australia and New Zealand, a similar thing had occurred on a much smaller scale. In Africa, European power reigned supreme except in a few isolated spots like Ethiopia; and where whites were actually settled the Africans were reduced to the status of second-class citizens in their own countries. All this was following upon a history

COLOUR AND POWER IN IMPERIALIST WORLD

We need to look very carefully at the nature of the relationships between colour and power in the imperialist world. There are two basic sections in the imperialist world - one that is dominated and one that is dominant. Every country in the dominant metropolitan area has a large majority of whites - USA., Britain, France, etc. Every country in the dominated colonial areas has an overwhelming majority of non-whites, as in most of Asia, Africa and the West Indies. Power therefore resides in the white countries and is exercised over blacks. There is the mistaken belief that black people achieved power with independence, but a black man ruling a dependent state within the imperialist system has no power. He is simply an agent of the whites in the metropolis, with an army and a police force designed to maintain the imperialist way of things in that particular colonial area.

When Britain announced recently that it was withdrawing troops from East of Suez, the American Secretary of State remarked that something would have to be done to fill the "power vacuum". This involved Saudi Arabia, India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Malaysia.

...-orical experience of 400 years of slavery, which had transferred millions of Africans to work and die in the New World. In Asia, Europe's power was felt everywhere except in Japan and areas controlled by Japan. The essence of White Power is that it is exercised over black peoples whether or not they are minority or majority, whether it was a country belonging originally to whites or to blacks. It is exercised in such a way that black people have no share in that power and are therefore denied any say in their own destinies. Since 1917, White Power has been slowly reduced. The Russian Revolution put an end to Russian imperialism in the Far East, and the Chinese by 1949 had emancipated the world's largest single ethnic group from the white power complex. The rest of Asia, Africa and Latin America (with minor exceptions such as North Korea, North Vietnam and Cuba have remained within the white power network to this day. We live in the section of the world under white domination - the imperialist world. The white power which is our enemy is that which is exercised over black peoples irrespective of which group is in the majority and irrespective of whether the particular country belonged originally to whites or blacks.

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The white world in their own way were saying that all these blacks amounted to nothing, for power was white and when white power is withdrawn, a vacuum is created, which could only be filled by another white power.

By being made into colonials, black people lost the power which we previously had of governing our own affairs, and the aim of the white imperialist world is to see that we never regain this power; the Congo provides an example of this situation. There was a large and well-developed Congolese Empire before the white man reached Africa. The large Congolese Empire of the 15th century was torn apart by Portuguese slave-traders and what remained of the Congo came to be regarded as one of the darkest spots in dark Africa. After regaining political independence the Congolese people settled down to reorganize their lives but white power intervened, set up the black stooge Tshombe, and murdered both Lumumba and the aspirations of the Congolese people. Since then, paid white mercenaries have harassed the Congo. Late last year, 130 of these hired white killers were chased out of the Congo and cornered in the neighbouring African state of Burundi. The white world intervened and they have all been set free. These are men who for months were murdering, raping,

pillaging, disrupting economic production and making a mockery of black life and black society. Yet white power said not a hair on their heads was to be touched. They did not even have to stand trial or reveal their names.

Conscious blacks cannot possibly fail to realize that in our own homelands we have no power, abroad we are discriminated against, and everywhere the black masses suffer from poverty. You can put together in your own mind a picture of the whole world with the white imperialist beast crouched over miserable blacks, And don't forget to label us poor. There is nothing with which poverty coincides so absolutely as with the colour black- Small or large population, hot or cold climates, rich or poor in natural resources- poverty cuts across all of these factors in order to find black people.

That association of wealth with whites and poverty with blacks is not accidental. It is the nature of the imperialist relationship that enriches the metropolis at the expense of the colony, i.e. it makes the whites richer and the blacks poorer.

The Spaniards went to Central and South America, and robbed thousands of tons of silver and gold from Indians. The whole of Europe developed on the basis of that wealth, while millions of Indian lives were

most and the societies and cultures of Central and South America were seriously dislocated. Europeans used their guns in Asia to force Asians to trade at huge profits to Europe, and in India the British grew fat while at the same time destroying Indian irrigation. Africa and Africans suffered from the greatest crimes at the hands of Europeans through the Slave Trade and Slavery in the West Indies and the Americas. In all those centuries of exploitation, Europeans have climbed higher on our backs and pushed us down into the dirt. White Power has therefore used black people to make whites stronger and richer and to make blacks relatively and sometimes absolutely weaker and poorer.

BLACK POWER-USA

Black Power as a movement has been most clearly defined in the USA. Slavery in the US helped create the capital for the development of the US as the foremost capitalist power, and the blacks have subsequently been the most exploited sector of labour. Many blacks live in that supposedly 'Great Society' at a level of existence comparable to blacks in the poorest section of the colonial world. The blacks in the US have no power. They have achieved prominence in a number of ways-they

can sing, they can run, they can box, play baseball etc., but they have no power. Even in the fields where they excel, they are straws in the hands of whites. The entertainment world, the record-manufacturing business, sport as a commercial enterprise are all controlled by whites, blacks simply perform. They have no power in the areas where they are overwhelming majorities, such as the city slums, and certain parts of the Southern United States, for the local governments and law-enforcement agencies are all white controlled. This was not always so. For one brief period after the Civil War in the 1860's, blacks in the USA held power. In that period (from 1865 to 1875), slavery had just ended, and the blacks were entitled to the vote as free citizens. Being in the majority in several parts of the southern United States, they elected a majority of their own black representatives and helped to rebuild the South, introducing advanced ideas such as education for all (blacks as well as whites, rich and poor). The blacks did not rule the United States, but they were able to put forward their own viewpoints and to impose their will over the white racist minority in several states. This is a concrete historical example of Black Power in the United States, but the whites changed all that, and

they have seen to it that such progress was never again achieved by blacks. With massive white immigration, the blacks became a smaller minority within the United States as a whole and even in the South, so that a feeling of hopelessness grew up.

The present Black Power movement in the United States is a rejection of hopelessness and the policy of doing nothing to halt the oppression of blacks by whites. It recognises the absence of black power, but is confident of the potential of black power on this globe.

Marcus Garvey was one of the first advocates of Black Power, and is still today the greatest spokesman ever to have been produced by the movement of black consciousness. "A race without power and authority is a race without respect," wrote Garvey. He spoke to all Africans on the earth, whether they lived in Africa, South America, the West Indies or North America, and he made blacks aware of their strength when united. The USA was his main field of operation, after he had been chased out of Jamaica by the sort of people who today pretend to have made him a hero. All of the black leaders who have advanced the

cause in the USA since Garvey's time have recognized the international nature of the struggle against White Power. Malcolm X, our martyred brother, became the greatest threat to White Power in the USA because he began to seek a broader basis for his efforts in Africa and Asia, and he was probably the first individual who was prepared to bring the race question in the US up before the UN as an issue of international importance.

Since that time, one important change had occurred since Garvey. The emphasis within the US is that black people there have a stake in that land, which they have watered with their sweat, tears and blood, and black leadership is aware of the necessity and the desirability of fighting White Power simultaneously at home and abroad. Certain issues are not yet clear about the final shape of society in America. Some form of co-existence with whites is the desired goal of virtually all black leaders, but it must be a society which blacks have a hand in shaping, and blacks should have power commensurate with their numbers and contribution to US development. To get that, they have to fight.

Black Power as a slogan is new, but it is really an ideology and

movement of historical depth. The feature that is new about it as is currently exercised in the is the advocacy of violence. Previously, black people prayed, we were on our best behaviour, we asked the whites 'please', we smiled so that our white teeth illumined our black faces. Now it is time to show our teeth in a snarl rather than a smile. The death of Martin Luther King gave several hypocritical persons the opportunity to make stupid remarks about the virtues of non-violence. Some of the statements made in the Jamaican press, radio and TV were by individuals who probably think the Jamaican black man is completely daft. We were told that violence in itself is evil, and that whatever the cause it is unjustified morally. By what standard can we equate the violence of blacks who have been oppressed, oppressed, depressed and repressed for four centuries with violence of white fascists? Violence aimed at the recovery of human dignity and equality cannot be judged by the yardstick as violence aimed at maintenance of discrimination and oppression. White Americans would certainly agree the moral and practical necessity of their participation in the 1st and particularly the 2nd World War. What is curious is that thousands of black people

fought and died in these wars entirely in the interest of the white men. Colonialism is the opposite of freedom and democracy and yet black colonials fought for this against the Fascism of Hitler-it was purely in the interests of the white "mother countries". Slaves fought for American Independence and for the North in the American Civil War. Black oppressed Americans went in thousands to fight for justice in the world wars, in Korea and in Vietnam. We have fought heroically in the white man's cause. It is time to fight for our own.

VIOLENCE

Violence in the American situation is inescapable. White society is violent, white American society is particularly violent and white American society is especially violent towards blacks. Slavery was founded and maintained by violence, and in the 100 years since the 'Emancipation' of slaves in the US, the society has continued to do black people violence by denying them any power or influence (except for the occasional individual). Their interests are therefore ignored, so that thousands of black babies die each year because of lack of proper food, shelter and medicine, while hundreds of thousands are destroyed emotionally and intellectually because of conditions of poverty and discrim-

-ination. This is the worst sort of violence, and it is accompanied by many acts of individual violence carried out by white citizens, police and sheriffs against blacks. Most incidents of rioting in recent years arose out of self-defence and out of anger against brutality. When black Americans react to meet force with force this should surprise nobody, because even the most harmless animal will finally turn in desperation against its hunters.

It is useful to know that this is the conclusion arrived at not only by Black Power leaders, but also the official committee of the US Senate which was appointed to investigate the racial situation. Apart from the local riots, US society faces the possibility of large-scale racial war. The book Black Power, written by Stokely Carmichael & Charles Hamilton and now banned by "White Power" - Jamaican Government -, stresses that its aim was to present an opportunity to work out the racial question without resort to force, but if that opportunity was missed the society moves towards a destructive racial war. In such a war, black people would undoubtedly suffer because of their minority position, but as an organized group they could wreak untold damage on the whites.

The white racists and warmongers cannot drop their bombs on black people within the USA and whatever damage is done to property means damage to white property. We have nothing to lose for they are the capitalists.

Black people could not hope to nor do they want to dominate the white but larger sections of the black youth realize that they cannot shrink from fighting to demonstrate the hard way that a 10% minority of 22 million cannot be treated as though they did not exist. Already the limited violence of the past few years has caused more notice to be taken of the legitimate social, economic, political and cultural demands of black people than has been the case for the previous 100 years. The goal is still a long way off, for it is not only in a crisis that the blacks must be considered. When decisions are taken in the normal day to day life of the USA, the interests of the blacks must be taken into account out of respect for their power. ~~BLACK~~ POWER THAT CAN BE USED DESTRUCTIVELY IF IT IS NOT ALLOWED TO EXPRESS ITSELF CONSTRUCTIVELY. THAT IS WHAT BLACK POWER MEANS IN THE PARTICULAR CONDITIONS OF THE USA.

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POWER TO US!

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THE UNIVERSITY

THROUGH ITS POLICY OF ISOLATION
: SOWING SEEDS OF DISCORD -

"The evil of internal divisions is wrecking our existence as a people, and if we do not seriously and quickly move in the direction of re-adjustment, it simply means that our doom becomes imminent and conclusive." Marcus Garvey-

Even though the Black African peoples may be heartened by such examples of Unity as the formation of the Organization of African Unity in 1963 and the efforts of Brothers such as Carmichael, Malcolm X, Rodney (to name but a few) to forge a unity among the Black peoples of the world, the statement made by Marcus Garvey in 1923 is as true today as it was then.

While equipping the South African, along with the Portuguese and Rhodesian governments with arms to stave off the attack of the African freedom fighters against these apartheid regimes, the World racist imperialist nations - America, Britain, France and West Germany in particular, are busy sowing disunity among the African peoples, and indeed all progressive movements of the world. They use whatever means possible. They organize military coups as in the Congo, they will invade as in the Dominican Republic or if necessary engage in genocide as in Viet-nam. Murder and assassination, not to mention even bribery are an everyday routine to secure their 'Shearout' governments and ensure the smooth flow of profits back to the Home Country.

Imperialist policy whether on the national or on the international level operates according to the maxim of Divide and Rule. The major division in any society is of course the division between the ruler and the ruled. The 'instituted go between' are the agents of force - the police and soldier. Yet from the earliest times these colonizers tried to create divisions among the black people. In Africa tribe was set against tribe. On the plantations of the West house slave was exalted above the field slave. One Black was given the whip and ordered to flog the other. With the slaves fighting each other the master hoped to limit their time to fight him.

It was not enough to set the slave against his brother, the white colonial world, in order to secure the docile work force it needs,

seeks to set the slave against himself. As Frantz Fanon remarks in his work 'Wretched of the Earth' - "It is not enough for the settler to delimit physically, that is to say with the help of the army and police force the place of the native. As if to show the totalitarian character of colonial exploitation the settler paints the native as a sort of quintessence of evil."

His country is painted as the epitome of Savagery incapable of evolving a culture and was in reality nothing but a 'big boy'. In place of African values European ideals were advanced. Beauty became blonde, blue-eyed beauty and 'culture' was synonymous with European culture. A number of expressions wound their way into our language which exemplify our dislike of ourselves. There was talk of good hair and bad hair, a good and bad nose, etc. If this policy of Cultural Imperialism did complete the dehumanization of the 'native' the large doses of violence would ensure the dominance of the White Order.

IMPERIAL EDUCATION

It is significant for us as students to note that the educational system in this region was borne out of a desire to perpetuate the deculturation of the labouring Black population. Even Augier, Gordon & Hall (The Making of the West Indies) state concerning the Negro Education Grant

of 1835 - 'It was not an ambitious scheme so much as a way of teaching people the Christian religion so that they should wish to accept the position in life in which they found themselves.'

The early mission schools went little beyond the basic reading, writing and arithmetic. As the pupil progressed within the school system 'fortunate' blacks were exposed to the 'glory of Europe.' What history or literature was taught was that of white Europe. Moreover the violent authoritarian manner in which classes were conducted required the unquestioned acceptance of the teacher's word.

Of a more crucial significance, however, is the manner in which the educational system functioned as a 'status awarding' institution to preserve the status quo. Those applicants who had assimilated well to British values were seen fit for entrance into institutions of higher learning, and later would be awarded the more powerful positions in the society. All persons in the positions of power being well schooled in the values of the Colonial power, could only be expected to preserve the white order of things.

UCWI

In 1945 when the Irvine Commission on higher education forwarded its report, the concept of education, outlined above had changed little.

culture, then so much the easier for them. Their economic interests would be safe!

The University was organised, along the lines of the British University System. All the internal decision-making power were vested in the Senate composed of Higher Administrative and Academic Staff. Contributing governments were represented on the University Council, which was the ultimate policy making body. Initially students had no representation on these bodies, but were the passive elements within the academic community, expected to concern themselves with their courses and to sit the London-set examinations. In order to ensure that everything progressed according to plan, a Principal was sent from Britain to supervise the proceedings.

THE LID WAS ON. Policy would be set by the governments, through Council, and administered by the Principal. The structure of the courses were determined by Senate who was also responsible for the award of Degrees. The authoritarian principle was deeply embedded in the University structure and the principles of stratification present in the 'external' colonial society were incorporated into the University community. Thus we find even at the present time, three different eating

facilities are in operation to cater to the different categories of members of the University community. The Senior Common Room for staff, the Junior Staff Canteen and the Soda Fountain. Insignificant as this might seem it is of great importance, since it is vital ^{that} the students' consciousness be structured so as to ensure they learn to accept implicitly the divisions which prevail in the colonial society.

GROWTH OF A 'BOURGEOIS' INSTITUTION

In 1949 at the time when most of the Third World was preparing to embark on a gigantic anti-imperialist struggle, China and India, just having seized the right of self-determination using vastly different methods; we in the West Indies were involving ourselves in an institution whose avowed intention was to strengthen those very links on which imperialism depended.

In terms of its external attachments the young institution displayed all the fancies and prejudices of the imperial power. Being but a College of London University it enveloped itself in the activities of the British academic community, thereby excluding itself from the developments taking place in the Third World, which perhaps would have been of greater relevance to us. In Latin America, for example, (stemming from the Cordoba Declaration of 1918)

Students were making important moves towards the democratization of the University and towards the implementation of radical change within these societies. Amidst all this isolation, however, the UWI remained in measurable isolation. Recognising itself as a bourgeois elitist institution, UWI allied itself solidly with its peers. The students were encouraged to take on the notion of higher education being a privileged world of its own. The primary concern of the student body was one of self-interest. This in turn led to a rather negative approach to the idea of student involvement in the wider community. Students would engage in sports competition with other clubs and another set might give one day out of the academic year to collect money for the 'unfortunates.' There were of course other occasional contact between students and the wider community but in none of these territories did the student perceive of himself as an integral part of the community, using his skills for the benefit of all. In what as we will show later it is precisely this fusion of students and Mass that poses the greatest danger to the status quo in Jamaica. It is evident nonetheless, that in early stages the University operated in such a manner as to

separate itself from the mass of the West Indian population. Moreover the function performed by the University and the principles on which its operation was based militated against the efforts of the West Indian people to free themselves from the Imperial shackles and participate in a fundamental restructuring of their societies.

Such action on the part of the University was understandable if not excusable given that the University was founded by the Imperial power. The fact that they still possessed the authority to do so is indicative of the level of political development achieved in the West Indies at that time.

In 1957 the Cato Committee was appointed to review the policy of the University. The Committee was appointed by the Federal Government, its intention being, presumably, to attempt a re-orientation of University policy so as to allow the University to more effectively aid the development of the West Indian people.

The Committee, however, did not advocate any radical change in the policy of the University. Its contribution may be summed up briefly. The main recommendation was that of an increase in size in response to 'the needs of a growing industrial and commercial community'. The College also was to be transformed from a purely resid-

-ential University, and was to begin to accept day students. The change was made to meet the growing need for 'trained' personnel though the Committee, mouthed platitudes about the need to mingle with 'the wider life of the community.' As events have shown, however, they didn't mean it.

Slight changes were made to the Curriculum and Schools of Engineering and Agriculture were recommended. However, no attempt was made to break out of the metropolitan bias present throughout our history. One small example, the Commission while recommending continued attention to the study of Latin and Greek made no mention of any African studies for a population which is our 96% African. Perhaps of greater import still is the fact that the Committee firmly endorsed the authoritarian structure of the University administration.

Thus even after 10 years operation the UWI continued operating in the mould of a colonial 'education institution', intent on maintaining a separation between the intellectual elite and the Masses. By this time, however, a small core of opposition was developing in the academic community. The Government in the grip of neo-colonial contradictions, faced with a grow-

-ing unemployed mass is unable to pursue any of the policies recommended by their own academics, for fear of harming the interests of their neo-colonial masters. The conflict becomes more acute as the puppets fall more completely into the control of the capitalists. Government adopts an anti-intellectual position, and eventually is forced to act against the opposition. Passports are withdrawn and 'troublemakers' eased out.

THE ISOLATIONIST CONCEPT OF UWI

In the meantime, the restless sufferers, who now begin to feel the extra hunger pangs, resulting from the prostitution of the country's resources to foreigners, reach out to make the link with the UC man who they recognised as being victimised from the same source that brutalises them. It was the link, between the University and the Sufferer that the Government could not countenance. They could not allow the protest of the population to be given Academic sanction.

ISOLATION SINCE OCTOBER 1968

The sequence of events witnessed since October 16, 1968, represents in fact a frantic attempt on the part of the Government and the University Administration to preserve the old 'isolationist' concept of the UWI.

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dangerous, not so much because of
the content of their ideologies, but
because they made the contact with
the Black Suffering population -
expounded their ideas to them, and
articulated sufferers' demands to
the rest of the society. This point,
think, is clearly illustrated if
one enquires into details of the
Thomas case. Some of Bro. C.Y.'s
academic work was done at the
prompting of the Jamaica government.
They engaged him to do work for
them, yet, unfailingly, when he sub-
mitted this work to them it was
shelved. Even so he was highly
regarded in Government circles until
he left them to reason with 'his
bretheren.'

THE ATTITUDE OF THE UNIVERSITY

ADMINISTRATION seems to support
government action. We cannot forget
that earlier in the year, Bro C.Y.
had been summoned by the Appoint-
ments Committee to answer charges
of 'unprofessional conduct'. When
the student body geared for action,
the Administration cooled it, and
the matter was forgotten until this
September. Even if the Administrat-
ion did not collaborate with the
government it is clear from their
other actions, that they oppose any
popular student action and are
basically unsympathetic to the
problems of the Suffering Black
population of the West Indies.

In July of this year Vice-chancellor
Marshall issued an edict that the
Celebration, H.I.M. Haile Selassie's
77th Birthday should not be held. No
reason was given for his action and
as he was off the island could not
be contacted. The function was held
as scheduled. Yet it speaks badly for
this institution, if it operates in
such a manner as to frustrate the
legitimate attempts of the black
population to correct the effects of
white cultural imperialism by afford-
ing the African peoples of the
island contact with their own cult-
-ural traditions. Marshall was -
oblivious to this reasoning and went
ahead in August to crash another
event that some sufferers had
scheduled at the Union. The justi-
-fication he gave was the archaic,
authoritarian crap about him having
the legal right to..... Even this was
not so bad, but later in the month,
the University served eviction
notices on some bretheren who had
settled on some land in the Long
Mountain range. The land had never
been used by the University, and in
fact the Bretheren who had settled
there, had succeeded in making it
quite productive. Displaying an
almost unbelievable heartlessness,
and lack of understanding of the Ja-
situation, where 20% level of unemp-
-loyment prevails, the UWI ordered
the Bretheren out, I suppose to turn

BONGO-MAN

vagrant so that Marshall or some other men can then mournfully regret the 'rising tide of violence on our beloved island. 'Ha, one feels tempted to laugh but it isn't funny. The UWI should be putting the idle land to use, in some effort to ease the starvation here, instead of going around and playing 'God'!

What becomes clear from these actions, is how little educational policy has changed since the UWI was set up in 1949, in fact since the Colonial Education Act of 1835. The University still operated to perpetuate those divisions among the people that Marcus Garvey warned against in 1923. Students recognising this must move to change the situation. What this means in fact, is that students must demand control of the organisation and content of the education they receive. As Alex Cockburn points out in 'Student Power' - "colleges and universities in their own right are important bastions of bourgeois power." They train the future elite. They control what is learnt, control exams, control what is taught and exercise the right to select staff. They even control Student Association through the Students Union.

All this control that these men have over our lives is rooted in the concept of authority. This is the enemy. It is one that students internationally have been fighting a long time. In the Cordoba Manifesto of 1918 the Argentine students were adamant. 'We want to eradicate from University organisation the archaic and barbarous concept of authority which is a bulwark of absurd tyranny.' The students went on to declare confidence in their ability to run their own affairs and their opposition to traditional academic corruption.

The fact that such ideas have been abroad for such a long time, and yet have remained distant from UWI is I think an indication of the efforts which were made to isolate us from the mainstream of International student action. We must correct this. We must democratise the University and thus enable it to function to its fullest capacity in the struggle that the peoples in the region are embarking on to free themselves from the poverty and hopelessness that Neo-colonialism gives rise to. We are part of that struggle. UNITY IS ESSENTIAL.

CONGO-MAN

LETTER FROM FIRST YEAR

Dear Frank,

One cannot visualize my reaction on being told by your mother that you too would be pursuing a degree at the University come October. Indeed it is nostalgic and thrilling to reminisce on those good old days when we played together, and fought together; when we studied together and cheated together; when we sat those gruelling exams, and were both successful-you in sciences and I in arts. It has been one long year, and I have not seen you- a year during which I have become more sensitive and my blind rebelliousness has matured into a social perspective.

For even deeper and more fundamental than the affinity of our scholastic careers is the fact that we are both black, lower middle class Jamaicans, faced not merely with the opportunity of self-aggrandizement, but with the dilemma of the black intellectuals within the neo-colonial context. In the words of Walter Rodney, we at the University are enemies of the people until we prove ourselves otherwise-that is a pretty terrifying statement. But let us face the reality and examine its significance.

Like all the other science students, I remember you dismissing history as an irrelevant piece of scholastic exercise. This is rather unfortunate, because a grasp of West Indian history would expand your understanding of Jamaica's present socio-economic and politico-cultural situation. But try to remember. Do you not perceive the similarity between the African slave robbed of his humanity, and the drifting proletariat of our days? between the overseer's whip and the policeman's gun? between the house-negro and today's black bourgeoisie the gamut of politicians, intellectuals, businessmen, professionals, cultivated apart from the people, acting in the capacity of an executive committee conducting the island in the interest of aliens who own our bauxite, our sugar, our tourism, our banks, our insurance companies?

Frank, as my beloved friend I ask you to reflect on these things and to refrain from dismissing the endeavours of the progressive students as misled idealism, locking yourself away in the ivory towers of test tubes and physics manuals. One can no longer

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vindicate himself by claiming that he doesn't understand or that he is powerless to do anything-the familiar excuses of those who are comfortable. The masses are beginning to realize that they have been duped, and many who pulled guns against their brothers in support of the decadent, exploitative two party capitalist system, with its semblance of freedom and promises of advancement, are beginning to point these guns elsewhere. It is to you and to me that they will come for answers. I hope you will be ready to answer for your actions. If you maintain an indifferent stance, if you like Sir Thomas More maintain your silence, then under the law you have agreed to become a part of the problem rather than aid in its solution. Hence you too will be guilty.

This is what I refer to when I speak about the dilemma of the black intellectual within the neo-colonial context. By now you must have realized that the university was not conceived as an entity within itself, but as part of the general process of exploitation. In other words, it was the spawning ground where the sons of the "house negroes" were trained and new ones created, cultivated apart from their brothers as agents of the imperial power. Today the role of the university is being challenged. And if the greatest among us are those who serve, then students are beginning to disassociate themselves from the deleterious systems of our socioeconomic and political situation, and have granted their services to the people. In other words they have chosen to become part of the solution rather than part of the problem. What about you? Will you pledge your talents to the support of the masses, or will you join forces with the status quo bent on maintaining their petty position under ^{the} aegis of imperialist interests? The choice, brother, is yours. Kiss the old lady for me.

Your friend and brother

Pate

Poem: to those who chat too much

Delicately balancing
cocktail glasses; stiffened tongues
loosened by whisky and gin
and the clink - clink of ice
perform a chorus to superfluous chatter
here, between delicious titbits
juicy scandals and the like
well-meaning souls
carefully ponder
the horrors of Sisyphus' devoured
children.
(Carefully: for harshness offends,
and for everything there's time and
place).

And so, in libraries
ancient and clothbound, with
the musty reek of academia,
brows are intensely knit, jaws
firm-set for serious business.

Oh so erudite and scholarly
the discursions; endless
flaunting of names: marx, fanon,
and even poor marcus does not escape,
the vacuous theorizing,

But we have been patient too long,
too long we have endured your intellectual shit-talk
The time for that is now pass
while for I: Black
life's still one long rass
still one long rass.

Pat Lewis

BONGO-MAN

MOVE TOWARD STUDENT

CONTROL OF U.W.I.

We may begin with curriculum reform, but we could as well start with Hall reform or changes in university administration or admission regulations. Each is linked to the other; the system is total. This is not to say that there aren't strains between different parts but cohesion is the rule. So to deal with curriculum reform in social science we have to see something of the University in which that curriculum is fixed. Only then do we grasp the difficulty of this particular battle and its necessity as part of the wider struggle to turn round the University from its historic role as plastic surgeon of social oppression.

COLONIALISM

The briefest look back into history is enough to prove this role. First let us recall some of the main features of colonial social oppression. Division among people of third world descent-African and Asian-was the rule. Black tore black for status and esteem in the eyes of the white. Blackman never looked across at one another, only up or down. A further feature was dependence-political, economic, cultural-by the majority who made the wealth of society on the minority who took it for themselves. The most significant social group had no regular say over the conditions of its own existence. Children/this as something good or at least inevitable-"respect authority"-how many people constitute authority or what interests they served is never discussed. Lastly the brainwashing of our people with the "white bias"; hatred of our non-European side. All these-disunity, authoritarianism and self-contempt marked the colonial social order. The institutions of colonialism reproduced these features within and outside of themselves. Let us look at the university.

1938 and the University College

The historical origins of the university set its subsequent course. Between 1935-37 the West Indian labourer held the machete once more to the throat of colonialism; once more colonialism took to arms to save its skin. But this time, weak and scarred stiff,

the enemy also promised all kinds of things to cool down the oppressed. Death bed confession and repentance to assure life after death that is neo-colonialism after "decolonisation". Hence Moyne recommended more hospitals, roads and schools; votes, land settlement and trade union rights. Irvine (Chairman of the Committee setting up the University College) added that to the package. All were no doubt progressive at the time; indeed also long overdue though only won with the blade at the neck of the colonialists.

But in each the seed of backwardness matured with time. Only now is the main achievement being clearly seen - on the one hand the marriage of the middlemen after the 1930's to the power structure as liveried house-slaves; on the other, the strengthening of their divorce from the continued black resistance movement. The committee setting up the university was clear - blackman was too unstable and unable for self-government. His leaders needed to be educated to responsibility. Imagine that! - the men who manned and ran the most sophisticated technology in the world as well as organised their lives to survive its barbarism needed to be "educated to responsibility"! What Irvine's Committee really meant was - educated away from "irresponsible" activity to overthrow colonialism lock, stock and barrel. Thus the University College came in 1949 as one of the many rearguard actions of colonialism in retreat, trying to prepare the way for the "Greco-Latin Negro" successors.

No surprise then that nothing about the institution threatened the disunity, authoritarianism and pro-white prejudices of colonialism while everything could work to their strengthening.

DISUNITY

Irvine chose to put his university at Mona - far enough away from Kingston so that "undesirables" could not clutter up scholarship but near enough so that scholars could easily mix when they wanted to.

The physical location of the university reflected its social location. Its members would come from people who were already elite and its graduates would go back whence they came or even higher. Consider the education and occupation of the majority of new

BONGO-MAN

students' parents-how many came from the bulk of West Indian society whose rebellion was one of the decisive reasons for starting the University? When they don't come from elite, the University encourages the sufferer's child to put as much distance between himself and his origins as possible rather than bring back new skills and consciousness to the service of the mass. Proof is all around but if you doubt look at the very definition of the successful graduate-one who has achieved "WEALTH, FAME, OR POSITION." (Directory of Opportunities for Graduates 1969.p.xxix) The man working among the mass who achieves neither wealth, fame nor position (but perhaps loss of position) is not a successful graduate! True-where are those who have tried!

It is plain that the university strengthens class divisions and therefore promotes disunity. But how can we begin to make it do otherwise? Certainly change away from this tendency is unlikely to come from the top. In small ways however it might be made to start from below. For example, this nonsense of gown-wearing separates student from non-student and marks off hierarchy within the university. Only a symbol, but symbols lodge themselves permanently in the mind and serve a social and psychological function. If you think its unimportant ask yourself why Mona students even at their most radical demonstrations have never dispensed with these symbols of their elite separateness-1960 (Sharpeville), 1963 (JBC), 1965 (Rhodesia) 1966 (Ollman) 1968 (Rodney). How many wore gowns in October to deal with tear gas?

In other ways the university might be made to break down its isolation from the mass and the mass from it. (Note, not "the community" - that is the abstract majority-sounding nickname the elite give themselves to hide social divisions and their elite but minority position within them. It is precisely the natural links with this group which is so imprisoning and which we have to struggle against) Lectures for example-why are these restricted only to those who can pay or those in whose favour the education system has discriminated? Doesn't the university know that there are unemployed youths who can read and write, more still who can listen and question? Why is security employed to keep these people - the majority of their age group - off the campus, both from unused playing fields and half-empty lecture rooms?

In the interest of standards-sure-but whose standards-the minority's at the expense of the majority. The house-slave must support his master and his own status by keeping the field-slaves from messing up the house. The separation is as old as West Indian history; UWI is in tune with Mona sugar estate whose site it now occupies.

DEPENDENCE

It is clear that the UWI must rank among the most advanced in the area in fostering the attitudes and experience of dependence.

First consider the workers on the campus. How many students know how many there are or better still the conditions the University of which the students are the most numerous section, imposes on them? How can he know for instance that workers at Mona-the centre of West Indian liberalism-had to fight for union representation? How can he know that a porter working 42 hours a week can start at £3. Outside, the students parent knows little about the labourers' condition.

Inside the University the student follows in his father's footsteps. Mutual relations are as authoritarian and paternalistic as outside. If workers on campus called a strike for better conditions would the Guild or even individual students help or hinder? If middle class youth cannot subordinate themselves to the needs of the mass within the University, how will they do it outside? But perhaps-in fact undoubtedly-that is not what the institution intends them to do.

The lack of material independence of campus workers is no different from the relations of political dependence which operate elsewhere on campus. The authoritarianism of the institution is all around.

Let us start from the top and come down. The Vice-Chancellor may "without assigning any reason refuse to admit any person as a student" (Statute 4:3). Even if a man is qualified he may be implicitly declared "an undesirable inhabitant or visitor" to Mona." He (the V.C.) shall have the power of suspending any student from any class or from the University, and of excluding any student from the precincts of the University or any part thereof for such periods as he may think fit" (Statute 4:5).

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Appointments Committee may "suspend a member of staff with a re-commendation to Council that he be dismissed without notice.."

(Ordinance 8:2c)

"The Guild of Undergraduates may make rules for its internal management and administration...but no rule shall be effective until it has been approved by the Council on recommendation of the Senate." (Ordinance 1(3))

The University Regulations for students are made without students having any meaningful say in either their construction or implementation. Yet students are not only the people most affected by these rules but also the majority of the university, on the university's own definition of itself. This kind of dictatorship cannot help but reinforce and accustom people to master-slave attitudes and behaviour. But then this might well have been what Sir James Irvine and his successors mean when they talk about training people to serve the wider community.

Collective control and administration by students of their own regulations would be too much for the university and the society- perhaps even for most students- to take. In the meantime, bring a couple students into the conference-room; bind them to say nothing about the most important things going on; divide them from the rest and keep control.

SELF-CONTEMPT

The University of the West Indies started as a cub of London University. Despite independence in 1962 it shows no anxiety to break the psychological, cultural and political links with Europe. Consider for example the subjects on the basis of which it gives scholarships: Greek, Latin, British Constitution, English Economic History among others. Where are the subjects which have anything to do with the experiences of the mass of West Indian and Afro-Asian peoples? Are these not valid fields for awarding scholarships on? West Indian and Afro-Asian history may not be taught sufficiently at institutions of lower learning but this is all the more reason why the institution of higher learning ought to correct the biases of cultural colonialism. Instead the UWI scholarship exam bribes people to whitewash themselves even more in the interest of finance handouts.

Inside, almost 2 of every 3 staff members (190 out of 290 last-October) are likely to be West Indian. But West Indian teaching what and how? Materials bequeathed by the old set up in the manner of the old way! Why aren't Caribbean or Afro-Asian history required courses for all people in the university? Or aren't most students not to be helped to know themselves. When we look at the system of external examiners we see the subordinate relationship to the old colonialism in its most naked form. Of the thirty or so external examiners in the Social Sciences Faculty two alone are in institutions outside of Europe and North America. How many of our people are external examiners for them? Or is it a one way floor? What about the two-thirds of the world in Africa, Asia and Latin America—are there no people at the University of Tanzania for example whom the teachers here think fit to be external examiners to West Indian students?

SOCIAL SCIENCES

It is only when we understand the general that we can deal with the particular. In origin, organization and function UWI is hand-maiden, sometimes unwilling, most often willing, to societies wherein the majority are political, economic and cultural squatters. It took an unfinished revolution to bring this University into being; perhaps it may take the completion of that revolution to change the reactionary nature of the institution.

But this is no excuse to postpone the struggle against reaction at every point and without ceasing. To do this we should understand the dominant contradiction in this as any other institution of education. While the institution is coaching us into the culture of existing society it cannot help but leave us with some of the tools to turn against the existing system. When we see the unity in the conserving and liberating roles of education, then we struggle to ensure that it is the freedom function which is dominant. In subjects which study society, this contradiction is likely to be most apparent; there, therefore, the struggle to develop a critical rather than conforming education is likely to be most developed. This is perhaps one reason why the university didn't get around to establishing a Faculty of Social Sciences until 1960.

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Needless to say most of what we have said about the university as a whole applies to social sciences. For example, up until now all B.Sc. students have had to take Introduction to Politics, Elements of Social Structure, Statistics and Scientific Method, Elements of Economics, Applied Economics and Modern Political Thought. None of these courses, in isolation or together give the student the tools or the facts to comprehend West Indian reality. Similarly the methods whereby instruction is given do not encourage the student to break with the way neo-colonial society has taught him to relate to it. Irrelevance-an acquaintance with equilibrium and Mill-and authoritarianism-subservience to teachers and exclusion from Faculty decision making-are the rule. Through these and other means, Social Sciences play their part in the objective function of UWI -service to the existing structure of West Indian society.

Check out where the five hundred graduates of the Faculty have gone so far-banks, civil service, multi-national corporations, universities. No where else to go. True. But what are they doing in these places? Resisting or conforming? Are our graduates points of tension with status quo, wherever they find themselves? If not can they be said to have learnt anything about that status quo? These are questions the answers to which we suspect but don't know.

In the meantime we can draw the lines. West Indian youth today are struggling against oppression. 40% of the age group 15-19 in Jamaica is unemployed. The tiny majority of this group in the university need to carry the struggle against ruling class institutions in their own context. Right now the Social Science Faculty is taking money from international corporations to train youth to manage these same corporations which take land and bread from our country people. If we are being trained to take charge that is all right. Since this is not the case, the following guidelines are offered to guide the struggle to begin transforming an institution of neo-colonialism into a force for liberation.

CORE COURSES

GUIDELINES

- 1) All core courses of the Faculty must be taught in such a way

and contain such subject matter that the student must see its relevance to Caribbean experience. If students do not see the relevance they must ask and be told. If teachers cannot explain either they or the course is irrelevant. Right now it is the case that most people pass through the Faculty without a critical understanding of their own society.

This is due in part to the absence of any unifying discipline. Sociology is separate from economics is separate from politics is separate from management yet they are all interwoven in the real world. Part of the trick of producing social scientists without an understanding of the working of society and therefore ideally equipped to go along with the regime of oppression is the chopping up of social knowledge without putting the pieces together again. Proposal: compulsory core course on Caribbean political economy and society.

2) The exam system: Student should be allowed as a first stage to opt out of a system which encourages all the individualistic competitiveness of slave society (for example in the use of library materials) and which fails to grade people according to their real creative ability. In its place should be long papers on research projects which interest the student and which are of undoubted social scientific relevance, e.g. the social and political structure of the university, should count for overall assessment in place of sterile exams.

3) The Instruction System: Here again the hall-mark of reform ought to be collective control by all those involved, the majority being students, of the learning situation. All lectures must in theory and practise open to interruptions and objections. Seminars should be democratised as far as possible. The group as a whole will ensure that the actual incidence and quality of interruption is not abused. Lecturers who resist valid contestation or victimise the 'disrespectful' student must be reported and if that is to no avail, boycotted. Anything less is to ensure that the University complements the school system in producing acquiescent personalities. Faculty lectures should be open to anybody, matriculated students or not, prepared to abide by collective discipline.

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4) Faculty decision-making: Assemblies of the whole faculty should meet to discuss and decide on issues affecting the whole faculty or any significant sections of it. Governments have their rights to ban people and authoritarian administrators the power to shift people around but students also have a right to insist on relevant and creative guidance. In the first instance such assemblies should be free to decide on the status and force of the decisions taken on any particular issue. The university administration can ignore such decisions if it wants to but then it loses all claim to being a 'community of scholars' and preparing people to participate in a democratic society' and proves itself a hierarchy of masters and slaves preparing people to 'adjust' to a similar set-up outside.

All information about staff meetings on curriculum reform, time, place and agenda ought to be made available to students well beforehand to facilitate participation in whatever numbers students deem fit. Heads of departments should refer all appointments and promotions to departmental staff and graduate students for discussion and collective decision which would then be put before the relevant university committee.

These are just a few thoughts on the houseslave system within the university and how we might develop struggle against it. Such struggle for democratisation must bring in and go to the oppressed majority outside. In the final analysis the struggle of the independent intellectual and the independent sufferer is one for the enemy is the same. "The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production."

OCTOBER

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THE AFRICAN NATIONALIST UNION

BY MARCUS GARVEY Jnr.

I have always been aware of my black skin. No one who has been a part of the Jamaican scene for any period of time can fail to recognise the importance of colour in this sick and frustrated society. To most Jamaicans shade of complexion is a fetish if not a God. They live it, worship it, marry it, love it - but above all preserve it. For a conscious black man, the time must come when he tries in his own way to stem the tide of ignorance. He must do his part to cure his people of a wasting sickness which allows them to be the sport and plaything of alien peoples. When did the realization come? A long time ago.

To know that you are black does not of itself make you understand the problem. For that to happen you must make a greater discovery - the meaning and importance of race. When the young black man understands for the first time that he is a member of the African race, a people with a heritage of suffering and degradation at the hands of Arabs and Europeans, he becomes a new man; he will never be the same again. I experienced my metamorphosis in England in 1954. Before that time I was merely a black man; after that time I became an African. It was a hell of a change. The African Nationalist does not and will not compromise. How could he? He lives and breathes love of Africa and the black race. He is a Toussaint, L'Ouverture, a Chaka, an Edward Blyden, a Marcus Garvey

a Patrice Lumumba, a Sekou Toure. He mobilises his fellow Africans to rid themselves of the stigma of inferiority, to strike down the oppressor, to liberate mind and body, to seek and hold power. I too am an African nationalist. I must do my father's work.

START IN OCTOBER 1968

The problem has always been the manner and form of the work and the time to begin. The solution to the problem came on October 16th, 1968. An African, Walter Rodney, was barred from this country because he had the courage to openly preach and advocate black power. The fact that he had been born in Guyana did not make him any different from me. He was an African brother who saw, understood and sympathised with the plight of his African brothers in Jamaica. Was it not my father who said 'I know no national boundary

where the negro is concerned.' I was amazed at the attack upon my father's philosophy-black power- by the large hands of the two-party system. I observed the brutal treatment of the students by the nigger tools of the white and yellow power structure. I realised fully the entrenched position of the white people and the Chinese in this society. I understood the betrayal of the black masses by the integrated, out-of-many two party system. Something had to be done and quickly.

As a result dialogue began between myself and other black brothers which led to the formation of the African Nationalist Union. Among its objects are the preaching of Garveyism and the stimulation of African awareness. We African nationalists feel that there should be in this country an African political party to represent the legitimate aspirations of the African people. Let the minority groups, the black traitors and those of uncertain race and origin enjoy themselves in the established institutions. It is certain that neither the Jamaica Labour Party nor the Peoples National Party can make black power a reality in Jamaica. They have had ample opportunity to set about doing it since 1944 and have failed miserably. Hence the black man must look to black institutions under black leadership for his salvation.

I have always felt that Jamaica should be a republic. I now feel that our country should be proclaimed before all the world an African Republic. This is necessary to set the stage for a constitution based on the principles of African Socialism which is directly linked with the communal ownership of our tribal forefathers. The wealth of the African community must be in the hands of the African people. This can only be realised under a system of state and worker ownership. The black people who produce the wealth must own the wealth.

I am happy to be both an African Nationalist and an African Socialist. When Garveyism, the most powerful form of African Nationalism, is married to African Socialism we get a perfect union called African-National Socialism. This comprehensive philosophy for the African race is what we need for the solution of our problems in this day and age. It is a dread doctrine.

It must be presented clearly and forcefully to the people. I will endeavour to do so while I am in this country unless and until I am forcibly prevented by the black traitors in high places acting on behalf of their alien masters

THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST

FIGHT IN JAMAICA

In the absence of any revolutionary analysis, a great deal of haziness and sloganeering about imperialism and its relation to the struggle in Jamaica and elsewhere, continues to prevail. Such sloganeering cannot continue to substitute for revolutionary analysis without great harm being done to the struggle. First, many brothers talk as if there is little difference between British and American Imperialism. After all, are they not both WHITE imperialism, the common enemy? To this we must answer yes, they are both capitalisms upon which white supremacy has been based and both continue to oppress people the world over. But there is a basic difference of absolute importance to revolutionaries. One, British Imperialism, is on the decline in the world. The other American Imperialism, is in the ascendancy, and has taken command of the world struggle to defend world capitalism and white supremacy.

Since the Second World War, American Imperialism has become the dominant force in world capitalism, based on its financial dominance of the capitalist world, maintained through key international institutions like the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank and the U.N. and its military role in the struggle against world socialism and oppressed and exploited colonial and neo-colonial countries. American Imperialism has significantly expanded its overseas investments under the cover of the military force and financial power at its command.

The Americans have built up a significant military empire since the second World War. In all their acts of aggression, in Iran, in Guatemala, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Vietnam, and their counter-insurgency assistance to governments in the Caribbean, Latin America, Asia and Africa, they have had as their primary aim the

maintenance of a clear field for world capitalist investment and exploitation. Every encroachment on that field is a mighty blow against American Imperialism. The forced contradiction of world capitalism is the great victory of Vietnam and Cuba. But the American military, although on the defensive continue to maintain a worldwide network of bases.

The American Military Empire

	U.S. MILITARY BASES
Latin America	19
Far East	10
Near East	11
Africa	11
Europe	13

FORMS OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

American Imperialism expresses itself in numerous ways. Its motive force is not simply related to a need to find a way to invest surplus capital or to superexploit labour and to produce cheap commodities, or to find new markets, or to find control and protect against capitalist competitors the raw materials and resources like Oil and Bauxite. In Jamaica this latter form assumes the most importance. The Bauxite Companies, among the wealthiest in the world, have tentacles in many of the bauxite producing countries like Guyana, French Guinea and Jamaica.

Aluminium is a metal closely linked to the whole military expansionism of the US. The Aircraft industry and the U.S. Air Forces are dependent on aluminium and the whole expansion of the industry is related to the strength and power of the military. Our bauxite is vital to the U.S. war effort in Vietnam. But although American Imperialism takes many forms we must remember that underlying these forms is the constant need of Capital to expand. Capitalism is expansionary by nature. It is a world force. The contraction of the capitalist empire which started with the Soviet Union, China and Eastern Europe has forced it on the defensive and threatens its very existence. Our struggle is part of the great reversal of capitalisms fortunes.

NEO-COLONIALISM THE MAIN STRATEGY

The political-economic strategy of European imperialism on the rise and in its decline was embodied in colonialism. Colonialism involved the complete political control of whole peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America with a less advanced mode of production than European capitalism. This political control was necessary for the superexploitation of colonial labour and the plunder of its resources. It is amply documented that colonial

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exploitation contributed critically to the growth of European capitalism under colonialism the exploitation of colonial labour, in slave systems and otherwise was a vital part of European capitalism.

The new stage of American Imperialism has brought with it new strategies. Neo-colonialism is the stage when colonial labour is no longer necessary to capitalist expansion.

It is a period when the colonial peoples are more and more separated from the production process, since what interests the Imperialists is the control of resources and the ownership of land in the former colonial territories. They have no use for the people The people become redundant. 7000 bauxite workers are all that the Imperialists really need. That is the basic contradiction of neo-colonialism. Unable to develop the people and transform the economies, capitalism in its death struggles refuses to let go its death grip.

In the neo-colonial stage direct rule is not favored. Indirect rule by the granting of political independence from world capitalism is the political strategy of neo-colonialism. It is better that a "government of the people" should preside over the separation of the people from the production process

and their political control. Democratic forms of government have even less stability than in the capitalist countries. The local political elite is under constant pressure to adopt more militaristic and direct forms of control of the dispossessed population, and democracy is likely to be abandoned in a crisis situation with the support of the imperialists for at least as long as it takes to temporarily destroy the revolutionary forces.

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM IN JAMAICA

American Imperialism is the leading force in world capitalism. We have analysed its basic strategy. We can now turn to the nature of American Imperialism in Jamaica. We will show clearly its dominance here, its effects on the revolutionary struggle, and the secondary importance of British Imperialism in decline, in order to make clear why the main thrust of revolutionary political strategy must be based on the struggle with growing American Imperialism and not on the declining British Imperialism of the sugar industry.

It is not always easy, when two processes coexist at the same point in time, to appreciate their different motions. In Jamaica this problem is especially acute because a mode of production—the sugar industry, based

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on British colonial organization, has dominated the society for the entire history of British capitalism. This mode of production exists at the same time as newer modes of production and exploitation-the Bauxite, Manufacturing and Tourism of American Imperialism. To clearly distinguish the two different processes-that one, based on colonialist sugar is declining, and the other based on neo-colonialist bauxite, is expanding, and to understand the significance of this for the revolutionary struggle, is made the more difficult by Colonialist propaganda spouting the significance of the sugar industry, its financial contribution, its vital role in employment and income, and by the failure of the left to realize that this is a deliberate ideological aimed at allowing a dying industry to extract the last ounce of benefit in its retreat. Let us proceed to show that Sugar is even less important to the main thrust of the revolutionary struggle than we have in the past realized.

THE DECLINE OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM

The sugar industry was given a rebirth in 1938 by the decision of Tate and Lyle to establish WISCO here. Considerable capital expansion was undertaken and new factories built. Compared to the organization that had gone before, WISCO signalled a

more modern and capitalistic organization. Indeed, it was the attraction of the new construction and the "new capitalism" of WISCO that sparked off the riot at Frome at Frome when it was announced that "American" wages were being paid. The operations at WISCO were more capitalistic and impersonal and less paternal and servile than what had gone before. To this day, WISCO's operations and its personnel relations are more advanced than other estates and farms. WISCO is owned by Tate and Lyle, the British Imperialist sugar refiners, who also control the whole colonial marketing of the industry. They produce at Frome and Monymusk about a third of Jamaica's sugar production, setting the pace for the whole industry. Under WISCO Jamaica sugar production increased from about 100,000 tons in 1938 to about 500,000 tons in 1965. But WISCO's day is coming to an end. It is no longer the most advanced and progressive industrial force in the countryside, and the relative backwardness of its production is seen clearly now. The Bauxite companies, Reynolds, Kaiser, Alcan, Alcoa, Anaconda, Revere are amongst the industrial giants of the Capitalist world. They have brought the most advanced production forces in the world to the Jamaican countryside.

In the process they are transform-
ing Jamaica and bringing the stru-
cture to maturity.

INDICATORS

Let us look at some indicators of
the decline of British Imperialism
and the dominance of American
Imperialism since the War.

Exports In 1950 Agriculture was
responsible for 77% of exports.

Sugar constituted 50% of exports.

By 1967 Agriculture made up 35% of

exports and sugar alone, approxi-

mately 20%. By 1967 Bauxite and

alumina were responsible for 49%

of exports.

Gross Domestic Product Agriculture

has fallen from 30% to about 12%.

Sugar would make the amount cons-

iderably less. Bauxite and alumina

now constitute 10% of GDP, Manuf-

acturing has gone from 10% in 1950

to 15% in 1967. Tourist expenditures

went from three million pounds in

1950 to twentyeight million in 1967.

Employment and Wages: The Bauxite

companies employed 7,000 workers in

1967, and their total wages and

salaries amounted to 7.3 million

pounds. Compare this to sugar which

paid out 7.8 million pounds in

1965 to employ approximately 35,000

workers. And the sugar industry pays

out nearly half its earnings in

wages whereas the Bauxite companies

pay out 20%. Manufacturing has

provided 10,000 new jobs from the
Tax free companies alone.

Foreign Trade: A good indicator of the
shift from British to American Imper-
ialism is the direction of foreign
trade. The table shows that in the
early 50's Britain was Jamaica's main
trading partner. By 1967 they were
replaced by the U.S.

DIRECTION OF FOREIGN TRADE

1938

	Exports	Imports
U.K.	58.5%	32.6%
U.S.	4.0%	20.9%

1967

	Exports	Imports
U.K.	26.3%	20.2%
U.S.	39.2%	39.2%

Since approximately 1952, the year in
which Bauxite mining was started and
the JIDC set up to woo American
Manufacturers, heavy capital invest-
ments in Bauxite, Tourism Manufact-
uring and Construction have all been
associated with the new dominance of
American Imperialism. At least one
hundred million pounds have been
invested in Bauxite while Sugar has
seen no significant capital invest-
ments since 1948, and cannot even
find the capital to establish Rocky
Point or to modernize factories. Fi-
nally, we note the very important
fact that the Construction Industry
is closely tied to capital investments

in Bauxite, Hotel Building and Urban development related to Tourism and to other American Imperialist Investments in Finance and Manufacturing.

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM : ITS EFFECT
ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY
STRUGGLE

The Bauxite companies are at the heart of American Imperialism in Jamaica. They are not only important in the context of the Jamaican situation, but to the whole development of American Imperialism. The operation of these companies transform land relations, wages and working conditions, transport, construction and the urbanization of the countryside. Bauxite Neo-colonialism is based on exploiting the land and resources, but it has very little use for the labour of black people. Bauxite affects a transformation of the society and results in the progressive removal of people from the land and from the labour process. It raises the consciousness of the workers and speeds the specific consciousness of the need to root

out the imperialist exploiters and to take control of the industry to use it to develop the people and to employ them productively.

WAGES AND WORKING CONDITIONS:

Bauxite brings vast changes in wages and working conditions. The lowest paid unskilled worker in the industry earns approximately seventeen pounds (34 dollars) per 40 hour week. Compare this with the nine pounds a week that a cutter in the sugar industry may earn. (The basic minimum for weekly rates at Frome and Monymusk, the pacesetters, is 90/-!) A heavy truck driver earns twenty four pounds (48 dollars) per 40 hour week. Jamaican bauxite workers earn the equivalent of their European counterparts in industry. The modern industrial working conditions in Bauxite are considerably more advanced than any other sector of Jamaican industry and agriculture and this has a profound effect on workers' attitudes and consciousness. Bauxite workers are a proud and self-confident section of the Jamaican working class. Workers from every

CONT'D NEXT PAGE

OCTOBER 16th
SIXTEENTH
BLACK

DAY OF
SOLIDARITY

of the relative backwardness of
their work conditions, sparking new
and revolutionary demands. The
"labour supply" problem in the
sugar industry and in agriculture
is a direct consequence of the
effects of Bauxite. The Sugar
Commission of Enquiry pointed out
that 2/3 of the strikes and work
stoppages in that industry between
1960 and 66 were sparked by back-
ward and primitive working con-
ditions and not wages simply. But
the bauxite industry can only
employ a limited number of workers
under its present neo-colonial
organization. It hastens the basic
contradiction of neo-colonialism—
thousands of workers leave the
paying arenas of super-exploited
labour, but they find no promise
of employment and they find them-
selves progressively removed from
the possibility of owning land
which the American Imperialists
take. Unemployment and modern work-
ing conditions are basic and
irremediable features of Bauxite
neo-colonialism.

AGRARIAN RELATIONS

Jamaican rural economic and social
relations have never been far
removed from more advanced forms
of production. Under the plantation
system of British Colonialism,
factories-in-the field have brought

semi-industrial conditions to the
most rural areas. The Jamaican peas-
antry are known for their willing-
ness to produce for export and for
the extent of modern commercial rel-
ations that they participate in. In
banana for example, peasants have pro-
duced the majority of the crop. Rural
social structure has been characterized
in the past by a high concentration
of ownership in land with the economic
and land dominance of about 300 plant-
ation landholders, a majority of "poor"
peasant cultivators and a sizable
landless proletariat based on sugar,
a strong "rich peasant" or middle
farmer class, who have acted as the
political agents of the poor and mid-
dle peasants. The estate structure of
about 20 sugar estates stood at the
pinnacle of this structure and dom-
inated the best flat lands.

The extensive commercialization of
the rural areas (which does not allev-
iate the vast inequalities of rural
and urban areas or the high level of
immiseration and poverty existing
there) is intensified by the coming
of Bauxite. Mining and processing of
Bauxite occurs in the country areas,
away from Kingston and is widely
spread, in St. Catherine, Manchester,
St. Elizabeth, Clarendon and St. Ann.
It has brought vast changes in land
relations.

LAND OWNERSHIP

First, it has done so by the necessity

BONGO-MAN

to buy up the land for exploitation. It is estimated that the Bauxite companies own 1/10 of all the land in Jamaica! The concentration of land ownership remains, but it brings a qualitative change of the first importance. Many revolutionaries having to deal with the land question, do not appreciate the magnitude of the change this has wrought on rural land relations. It is more than the fact that Bauxite companies have become by far the biggest landholders, far eclipsing the sugar estates.

The value of the land has been affected, putting it out of the hands of many who want land for farming, and encouraging many other inefficient producers to sell out to Bauxite or real estate or construction and go out of farming. Farmers faced by high wage demands and shortage of labour at the offered price caused by bauxite, and faced with the high prices obtaining for agricultural land - quickly are increasingly selling out. THE ECONOMIC BASE FOR THE POLITICAL DOMINANCE OF A WHOLE CLASS OF MIDDLE FARMERS IS BEING DONE AWAY WITH.

EFFECT OF BAUXITE ON SMALL FARMERS

The situation of the small farmers and cultivators affected by bauxite has also changed. Tenancy of the recently acquired and reclaimed bauxite lands organized by the companies under modern conditions and with the best aid and technical

assistance transforms the whole terms of the ownership issue.

BAUXITE VS SUGAR

Finally, the Bauxite companies are driven by the whole logic of their situation to enter into direct competition with the rotting and shaky forces in Jamaican agriculture based on British imperialist sugar domination. With vast landholdings to utilise profitably, with their advanced technology and organization establishing them as the leaders in whatever field of agriculture they enter, and with the decline of British sugar interests the bauxite companies find themselves more and more expanding into agriculture. At present these companies main field of interest is in livestock production, an area which can bring them into direct competition with sugar for the best lands. The expansion of livestock production under bauxite shows up the vulgar reactionary propaganda of the Sugar Commission of Enquiry when they claimed that lack of skilled management would prevent the development of a major livestock industry. The American Imperialists can always buy up skilled management, and they are already expanding into considerable livestock production. The inevitable spread of American Imperialism into agriculture; a process masked by British Imperialist propaganda, will spread revolutionary conditions

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throughout the whole society. There
will be no area of life that will
be immune. It would be no great
surprise according to our analysis
if the American Imperialists move
into other areas of agricultural
production mismanaged by British
Imperialists and their local para-
sites - let us watch sugar caref-
ully!

EFFECT ON TRANSPORT AND CONSTRUCTION

Bauxite has also had a great effect
on construction and transport. Part
of the problems of sugar and banana
farmers and others is the difficulty
of getting transport for their -
produce. Independent truckers hire
out to bauxite and construction
where higher rates are paid for
haulage. Construction also booms with
the expansion of bauxite; new plant
and machinery, new houses for baux-
ite workers and middle management.
This construction at bauxite wages
has a powerful effect on the move-
ment of construction workers into
rural areas and on the growth of
the whole construction industry.

URBANIZATION

Bauxite only employs between 5000
and 7000 workers. But its effect on
the countryside goes way beyond th-
is work force to affect the whole
rural population. Cities near the
areas of bauxite expansion grow
instead of Ann's Bay, Browns Town, Lin-

Mandeville. The movement of migration
into the cities alters, and greater
numbers migrate to the towns which
are built up around the wealth of
Bauxite. City conditions are brought
to the country resulting in a rapid
development of advanced revolutionary
consciousness in the cities, affecting
all the population.

TOURISM

American Imperialism intensifies the
alienation of the beaches and natural
recreational areas. The main expans-
ion of Tourism, like most other areas
of American Imperialism has occurred
since 1950. This expansion is respon-
sible, along with Bauxite, for the
increased urbanization of the areas
and for bringing the masses into
direct contact with developed comm-
ercial conditions. Tourist activity
provides the natural base for the
development of parasitic cities like
Montego Bay. The policy of the Seaga
faction of the neo-colonial JLP gover-
nment is to encourage and consolidate
this development, to improve the envir-
onment in which exploitation can
successfully continue. Hence the Urban
Development Corporations and develop-
ments in Ocho Rios, Falmouth, Mobay,
to aid the American Imperialists and
the local parasites. Tourism spreads
the conditions of Kingston to the
countryside, as unemployment, police
brutality and Jamaica upper class

opulence stand side by side. Construction activity in the expanding tourist industry also attracts workers from the rural areas who hope to get a job in the Construction sector which pays, next to Bauxite, the highest wages in Jamaica. Construction work is highly valued in rural areas. It is industrial in character and has a great effect on developing working class consciousness. It is also a major employing sector employing nearly 15% of the Jamaican labour force; mostly men. Thus Tourism has directly and indirectly played its part in bringing modern and industrial conditions to the countryside where it is based, increasing urbanization bringing the political consciousness of all affected to a higher more mature level.

MANUFACTURING AND LOCAL CAPITALISM

The development of American capitalism in manufacturing (168 firms employing 10,000 workers have been set up since 1952 on tax free laws) is less important as a significant sector of American Imperialist exploitation than as a stimulator and catalyst for a local parasitic capitalistic class based on manufacturing and industry rather than import-export trade or agriculture. (The American capitalists are either branch-plant industries of larger American concerns set up to exploit

the local markets where a neo-colonial government strategy of import substitution prevails, or second-rate small capitalist concerns exporting to America and taking advantages of no taxation and lower wage rates. The Type abounds in Mexico and Puerto Rico. Fleeing the pressure of big business, they are of little importance in American capitalism which is dominated by the big Monopoly capitalist firms or to American Imperialism based on big and important industries like oil and bauxite.

Of course, the development of factories has an important effect on working conditions and the development of the skilled section of the working class. Factories in the country are instrumental in developing rural working class consciousness of modern industrial conditions and attracts workers from all branches of agriculture furthering the rejection of the mode of life of British Imperialist agriculture. They bring rural workers face to face with the new type of exploitation. The local capitalist class which develops under the umbrella of American Imperialism has a parasitic relation to American capitalists. To put it quite simply, Jamaican capitalists are quite unable to go it alone. In varying forms of association with American capitalists, from majority control of American capitalists in the enterprise to minority control or just technical assistance, the Jamaican capitalists like

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those in all neo-colonial countries, like Ghana, Nigeria, Venezuela, Trinidad, Costa Rica and India, assume the role of "Junior Partners" to American capitalism. Both the large black capitalists and the large white racist capitalists are subjected to this power of Imperialism. IT CAN BE NO OTHER WAY WITH CAPITALISM. Any analysis of the local situation, or of the situation in any neo-colonial country will bear this out. The local capitalists feed on the success of American Imperialism. They die with its death. Like parasites they latch on to every new area of American Investments, assisted by the neo-colonial governments of the JLP and PNP to snatch their crumbs. Let us be clear that although this class thrives and prospers under American Imperialism they will never grow strong enough to become independent capitalists. They will never play a progressive role in the development of Jamaica, whether they are white or black.

ABENG OFFICE, 14a Rousseau Rd. Kingston 5

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DOES THE MIND OF MAN CIVILIZATION

DETERMINE THE TREND
OF

BY Amy Jacques Garve

Man is the most dissatisfied creature on earth. He is ever striving for a better way of life. He craves for money-plenty of it, to buy everything he wants, only to discover that LOVE and HAPPINESS cannot be bought, but earned. In fact happiness is largely a state of mind-a disciplining of one's self to see beauty and feel joy in the simple things of life.

Man is God's noblest creation, in that He made him in his own image and likeness; and gave him dominion over the earth and its creatures. Man's kinship to God lies in the fact that he has a Will of his own-a power to do right or wrong, to create or destroy.

MAN'S WILL IS LIMITED BY NATURE

Although man is born with a free mind, yet the laws of Nature limit his excesses by penalizing him. If he over-eats he gets sick. If he does not take care of his body it becomes weak and diseased.

One cannot defy Nature

and get away with it.

On surveying Nature one must conclude that God is a scientific Creator. Everything in its right place, and rotating in its own orbit. He divided the earth into continents, with seas and rivers intersecting them. He made zones of different temperatures, and created white people with long silky hair, thin lips and aquiline noses to live in cold climates. The black people He made with frizzled hair, thick lips, and broad noses to live in the tropical belts, and physically to endure the sun and heat. The Yellow and Brown peoples he made with long coarse hair, tanned skin and moderate noses and lips to live in the temperate zones. Acts 17 - verse 26 of the Bible states:-

"He created of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of all the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation."

MAN'S CREATIVE INSTINCTS UNLIMITED

What has man accomplished in his creative capacity? He can point to his inventiveness in spanning rivers with bridges, harnessing their waters for domestic and industrial purposes, sailing luxury ships and freighters carrying goods on the high seas, by means of

electricity, steam and nuclear power; flying jet liners in the air at high speed, thus reducing travel time, and linking up land areas thousand of miles apart in a matter of hours.

Advances in sanitation and medicine have reduced the death rate considerably in developed countries. Express trains travel at great speed carrying passengers and goods. Mechanization in agriculture and industries creates greater production and more leisure for workers. News is relayed by television and telecommunication rapidly. Visual education has helped the work in schools and adult literacy. Planetary travel and exploration is the latest effort of man seeking new worlds to conquer. While the transplant of organs of the body is world knowledge.

ATOMIC WARFARE-ANNIHILATION AND CHAOS

All knowledge is more wide-spread and progress marches on, but wars have never ceased to plague the world, and man is now faced with the nightmare of the next full-scale war, which may be one of annihilation of millions of human beings by the atomic bombs, germ warfare, and other wicked means of killing each other. Cities and towns will be destroyed, and areas poisoned by nuclear fall-outs, and made not arable for years after. This scientific progress has struck fear in

the hearts of leading statesmen who feel that the element of surprise may prevent retaliation. The leading white nations have the bomb, so has China with a population of 700 million - trained, armed and ready to fight. Japan is the leading industrial nation of the Far East, and number one cousin to the Chinese. India with over 500 million souls is preparing to get the bomb for the defence of her borders. Korea and Vietnam have been split into North and South spheres of military influence by Russia and America. These are the leading nations of Asia. The Arab nations have ganged up against tiny Israel, but the difference in size may be compensated by her having the bomb. Hostility and fear pervade the air of the Near East. Why?

Scientific Achievement but Spiritual Values Lacking.

Because man has not mastered his baser instincts; he has not learned to discipline himself, he has refused to live in peace with his brother, he continues to fight for power-supremacy over his weaker kind, and now stands on the brink of destruction and chaos because of his marvelous scientific achievements, and the bankruptcy of his spiritual values.

However all can never be lost, beca-

-use of the nature of the tenure of civilization, for it is a continuous development of man's mental and physical accomplishments. It is like a relay race, one hands over to the other, and so they will carry on until the end of time.

Types of civilization may be peculiar to or identified with certain peoples and their countries, depending largely on their agricultural and mineral wealth, and strategic position in hemispheric development at a given time. No race of mankind can claim the exclusive right to civilization. It moves in cycles. As the cycles take centuries to rotate, because of this time lag, so the truth of history is distorted or destroyed to suit the leading nations claim to greatness and supremacy.

WHY CIVILIZATIONS DECLINE?

The peak of civilization is reached when a continent and its environs are highly developed materially, but when the mineral wealth is exhausted, the soil eroded and unfit for agriculture, then the inhabitants go to other lands and exploit these areas, and its peoples labour, in order to retain wealth and power at home. This was called Empire-building, but global wars have changed this pattern. Gone are the monarchs, the aristocracy of wealth and learning, the feudal barons, the COMMON MAN has come into his own

everywhere.

Civilization is the cumulative achievement of peoples at a given era, but history usually records the deeds of the powerful nations, suppressing the work done by the slaves, the serfs and under-paid sufferers. This attitude helped to condition the minds of the latter to a state of subserviency, and slavery of the mind - an inferiority complex, which does injury even to unborn generations. The Black Race still suffers from a warped mentality, induced by FEAR - seeing and feeling all the time an all-powerful white race trying to perpetuate itself at his expense.

Art-Mute testimony of Greatness

Ancient civilizations have lived to tell their stories through their Art - especially sculpture and ceramics; for art is not only the work of cultured and trained persons, but true art is the exultation of man at the beauty and grandeur he sees in Nature around him; and when his mind is free from WANT and FEAR he ascends to heights of ecstasy in presenting in art form that which he feels, and is egged on by spiritual motivation to produce.

Material art has not been the only great contributions to early civilizations, but the Philosophers and Historians devoted their lives in

the quest for knowledge to solve the riddle of human existence and establish moral codes. But vandals, time and decay destroyed the early writings of these great souls. It is from the Greeks that we read back for inspiration to look within ourselves for the answers today. Plato influenced religion-meditation and worship of the Divine. Aristotle - believed in examination and experiment with realities, pioneering in scientific knowledge.

AFRICA - the Cradle of Civilization

Four thousand years before the birth of Christ, the Egyptians embalmed their dead, built magnificent tombs, furnished them with treasures, constructed the great pyramids and sphinx, and canalized the Nile. These are living monuments to the architectural and mathematical genius of these Nilotic Africans, whose library at Alexandria was burned by vandals, and their history and literature - destroyed. The oldest civilization dates back to 11,000 before (B.C.) evidence is the pyramid of Sakkara and other stone buildings that could not be destroyed.

Civilizations of Crete, Egypt, Timbuctoo, Mali, Assyria, Greece, Rome, Mayas, Aztecs, Songhai, the Empires of England, France and Germany where are they? What has caused their decline? Wars, one may readily say,

but what causes wars? Envy, hatred, greed and the inherent feeling of contempt and sometimes pity for materially weaker peoples-who are used for the greater glory of the strong nations. Nations lose their power and prowess when moral decay sets in. Material wealth urges and encourages indulgences and excesses, so they drift-the way of all flesh. For it is the motivation of man's mind that determines peace or war on earth.

THREATS, GUNS, BATONS, BRIBES, YET RASTA STANDS

They call "Rasta!"
we've got you pegged,
we've got you
written and signed,
we've got your full size
measured from behind."

Yes, they've lined I
down as Bulls-eye,
they've taped-off I strength
in wood, coffin-length.
But when they loose
hell in gun-fire
they look and see me rising higher
they see me rising bigger, wider, blacker,
and their paid-for fingers
tremble
tremble
on them triggers.

"Rasta!" they shout,
"you're subverting Youth,
let's talk sump'n out".
So they come and we talk
short and not so sweet
---my head on their gun-butts,
their courage at my feet:

they leave me with a busted head
but they leave afraid,
Yeah, they leave afraid,
cause they see
more, nuffer me,
more, nuffer youths
in warm militancy.

So they reason:
"Rasta, you're preaching Treason,
this Land here is yours
just as it's ours,"
so they talk while
hearts conspire.

But I'm listening
an' rising
jus' the same.
One day they'll call, "Rasta!"
an' no one's here
answering that name.
They'll know then for sure,
then, if not before,
who was holding them,
saving them
from
the vengeance of
the young and poor.

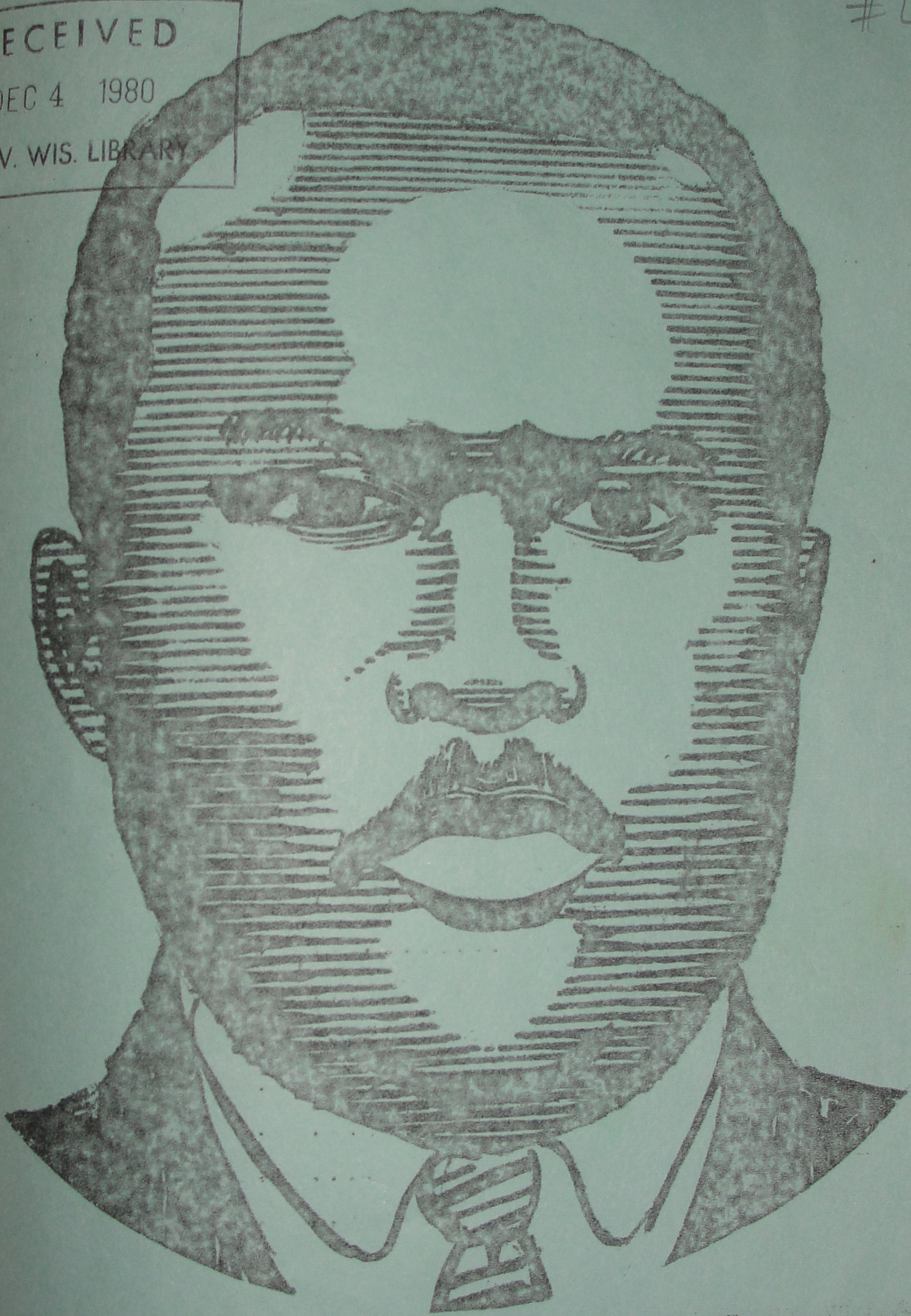
(Taken from Revolutionary Poems Vol.1 No.2. Three issues have so far been published. LOOK OUT FOR Vol.1 No.4.)

BONGO - MAN

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